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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Memorandum of Conversation

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DATE: April 2, 1951

SUBJECT: Remarks on the Chinese "Third Force"

PARTICIPANTS:

Mr. Jun Ke Choy
CA - Mr. Clubb
CA - Mr. Strong

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Mr. Choy met first with Mr. Strong, and introduced himself as an American citizen, sixty years of age, born in Hawaii, with higher education at Columbia in political science. He claimed to have worked for the Chinese Government on the mainland for a total of some twenty years as manager of the Shanghai-Nanking Railway, as an important figure in the Canton-Hankow Railway, as manager of the China Merchants Steamship Navigation Company for eight and a half years until the fall of Hong Kong to the Japanese, as an adviser to an undesignated provincial government and, following his escape from Hong Kong, in an unnamed capacity in Chungking until 1944. At that time, he said, it was evident to him that the National Government was well on the road to becoming a dictatorship so he severed his ties and returned to the United States where he became a public relations officer for Dillion Hunt and Company until the fall of the mainland. After that he became editor-in-chief of a new English language newspaper, China Daily, in San Francisco, an organ of the China Democratic Constitutionalist Party which he said was founded during the Ching Dynasty prior to the founding of the Kuomintang. After getting up this newspaper he returned to Hawaii and again entered the public relations field. His current mission to Washington he stated to be as public relations representative of the Canadian branch of the China Democratic Constitutionalist Party, the major portion of the membership of which is composed of American citizens of Chinese extraction. His trip is being financed by the Party but he offered his services without remuneration.

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In Washington he is interviewing not only officers of the Department but also officers of the American armed services and members of Congress. It is understood from Mr. Russel of IS/P that he has already seen General Donovan, formerly director of the OSS. He said he recently had spoken with Professor Nathaniel Peffer in New York.

In response to a query whether it was not somewhat unusual for American citizens to be taking part in the internal affairs of a foreign government, Mr. Choy said that a majority of the Hawaiian and San Francisco branches of the Party gained American citizenship by naturalization and they simply continued a natural interest in the affairs of China. He inquired whether he, as a public relations representative for the Party, should register as a foreign agent. He was informed that it would be advisable for him to go into the matter with the Department of Justice which was believed to have jurisdiction over such matters.

Mr. Choy claimed that his long service in China had brought him into intimate contact with many of the leading personalities and he mentioned his particularly close friendship with General Wu T'ieh-ch'eng, General Chang Ch'un, and Marshall Li Chi-shen. He spoke disparagingly of Carson Chang, who he said endeavored to learn about American political institutions from German texts while studying in Germany, and about Chu Chia-hua and Han Li-wu whom he characterized as non-political reactionaries intensely loyal to the Generalissimo. He declared that his last trip to the Far East occurred approximately two years ago at which time his Party had asked him to use his influence to prevent Li Chi-shen from going over to the Communists.

The burden of Mr. Choy's presentation was that the Generalissimo has expended all his assets of leadership and influence and that the National Government on Formosa must be turned into a coalition of all anti-Communist elements, the coalition to be headed by a directorate of several leaders with the Generalissimo as one of them and each taking his turn as chairman. A coalition is required in the absence of any one outstanding leader. To achieve such a coalition the U.S. must arrange for the removal from Hong Kong of all non-Kuomintang, anti-Communist leaders, of whom there are many, to a safe place, preferably the United States where they could gather in solemn conclave and issue a manifesto demanding such a coalition government and, in safety, affixing their signatures thereto. He said that at the present time such a meeting and the issuance of such a manifesto in Hong Kong were out of the question because of the neutral political position of the colonial authorities vis-à-vis the mainland and the actual danger to the lives of the participants and their families in such activities. He said that the potential "third force" leaders would not be permitted by the British to hold the open type of meeting which was required. The second part of Mr. Choy's program for obtaining a coalition government also involved initiative by the United States Government, i.e., the United States should attach

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strings to the assistance being given to the National Government and require that a genuine coalition be created and certain other conditions be met. From there the solution of the Communist problem of the mainland would have to be dealt with by Chinese. He ruled out participation of Chinese leaders from Southeast Asia, saying that they were already compromised by fear of the possibility of future Communist control of their areas.

It was pointed out to Mr. Choy by Mr. Clubb that his proposals called for United States initiative to solve what was essentially a Chinese problem and that it required primarily action by the Chinese themselves; he doubted that in the absence of assumption of responsibility by Chinese leaders any action by the United States would lead to success. Mr. Clubb also pointed out the means available to the Chinese in Hong Kong to press the National Government for a coalition if they chose and referred to the ample advice which the United States had provided heretofore to the National Government, which advice had consistently been ignored; he, therefore, believed that if the National Government refused to accept the representations of the Chinese leaders in Hong Kong it would continue likewise to refuse to utilize advice from the United States.

In response to Mr. Choy's offer to provide a list of those persons in Hong Kong who should be brought to the United States he was informed that such a list would serve no useful purpose, that all visa applications of necessity had to be processed in Hong Kong. Mr. Choy claimed that the Generalissimo would not permit the issuance of passports for travel abroad to the Chinese leaders in Hong Kong. He also stated that the Generalissimo had endeavored to entice the leaders to Formosa where he could keep an eye on them but that they had uniformly refused his invitation.

Mr. Choy asserted that potential "third force" leaders in Hong Kong were rallying around the China Democratic Constitutionality Party and that several of them had written to the San Francisco headquarters seeking assistance for the program outlined by Mr. Choy. Asked who had written, he said Carson Chang and quite a few others.

In view of Mr. Choy's apparent ignorance of recent developments in Hong Kong with regard to the "third force" and in view of information available in this office with regard to several points of loyalty by Mr. Choy, there would appear to be grounds for speculation that the real mission of Mr. Choy in Washington is to determine on behalf of the Generalissimo the plans of the United States with regard to the "third force". In any event, as a hired lobbyist his loyalties and sense of security might well be viewed as open to question.

Before termination of the interview, Mr. Choy stated he had heard a broadcast in which the State Department was seeking International analysts of some kind for China and he was interested in doing his share in the current crisis by filling one of the gaps. He was advised that CA was unaware of the call for applicants for such positions and he was referred to PA/P.

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